1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

precipitate it into a boiling pot. He also describes the slippery path from which it may fall into a swamp, where a huge crab awaits it (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 372). 764 775

But at last the soul arrives at an underworld in the west, where it is day during our night, and where the forests teem with tapirs, deer, and other game. The souls of the aged become young again and live for the span of a human life. After a second death, the soul turns into a small insect, generally a mosquito or an ant, whose death ends everything; for this reason the *Caingang* never kill these insects (Baldus, 1937 c, p. 49).

WARFARE

A man who has been offended by some member of the community stands in front of his hut and in a loud voice enumerates all his grievances, sometimes bursting into a chant. He ends with threats against his enemy who, in the meantime, behaves in the same manner on the other side of the camp. After reciprocal abuses that often last a whole night, the challenger, followed by a group of supporters, advances toward the offender, who is immediately assisted by his own partisans. Both factions, armed with wooden clubs, fight a pitched battle, but are careful not to kill anybody. The sham battles of the *Caingang* have been described by many observers and may well be formalized brawls which have been interpreted as sportive games. 578 627

Feuds between *Caingang* groups may develop into regular warfare. When one group engages another, the members of the Kadnyerú moity subdivision always form the first line. The Kamé constitute the second line and enter the fight as a reserve to take the place of the exhausted Kadnyerú. Battles between related groups are always preceded by exchanges of insults and by other demonstrations of anger. Although no weapons but cudgels are used, blows are so lustily administered that many are seriously wounded or killed. 628 726 [616] [411]

Wars against foreign tribes or the Whites were less strictly patternized. The *Caingang*, like all Indians, relied mainly on surprise attacks carried on at dawn. After a general discharge of arrows, the warriors, armed with their clubs, rushed against the enemy (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 42). 726 648

Women and children were generally spared and were adopted by the victorious group. They cut off the heads of slain enemies but did not keep them as trophies. 727

ETIQUETTE

When a *Caingang* visits another village, he hides in the vicinity until able to announce his presence to some relative. The host receives him with his face covered with a cloth and does not look at his guest until 574 576

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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582 596 571

erally whoever went contrary to the behavior of the rest of his "own people" and threw in his lot with "another group of people" was lost, for he had joined forces with those whose hate and fear were directed against the ones with whom he had ties. He became a wanderer divorced from his own blood, sleepless at night for fear that they might come to kill him, anxious in the day lest his new companions slay him. If he survived, his children bore the weight of his deed, for they might never return to their father's people. They were *kôinggẽgn utpá*, "different men," to them, even though they were first cousins by blood. They had never shared their women or caressed their men. They were shut out of the circle of warm arms and bodies that mean security to the Kaingáng, and they were killed on sight or hunted down like wild animals. In Kaingáng terminology "a different group of our people" is a synonym for *thûgn*, enemy. The hated Brazilians and "our different people" are both *thûgn*, enemies, "something no good," and severed from the ties of blood in behavior if not in fact.

The Feuds

628

Today Kaingáng memory does not go further back than the murder of Nduichá with anything like exactness. But it transports us to this death more than a century ago with a precision that is almost mathematical. The complicated genealogies of the people whose descendants are alive today check rigorously. When the Kaingáng discuss such killings as Nduichá's they seem to be fitting together the parts of a machine the intricate workings of which they know precisely. Their absorbed interest in the history of their own destruction has impressed on their minds with flawless clarity the multitudinous cross-workings of the feuds. They remember not only the genealogy of everyone but even details of weather, conversation, and facial expression and the precise spot in which an arrow or a lance struck.

In order to understand the feud conditions under which Nduichá was murdered we must take advantage of these memories and try to picture the composition of Kaingáng society at the time. When our story opens three groups of people are living together: the children of Mumbégn,[2] the children of Kamggúin, and the children of Vomblé. Mumbégn had three wives who bore him many children, but for the present our story is concerned only with three of his offspring: Kumbló, and his sister, and their half-brother, Wanyekí,[3] the son of Mumbégn by another wife. Mumbégn himself had died, and one of his wives, the mother of Kumbló, had married Kovĩ, "a different man," one for whom memory provides no blood tie. For

[2] His real name was Kuvén, but I have called him Mumbégn in order not to confuse him with his son Kuvén, who was killed later. These three men are the ancestors of the extended family with which I lived.

[3] See pp. 37-38.

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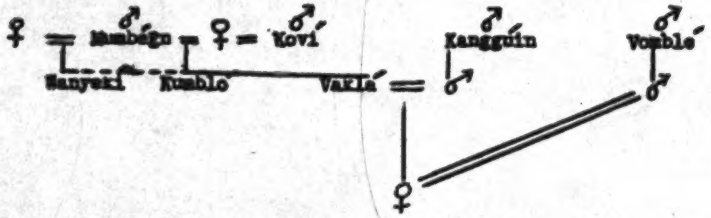
628 many years Vomblé, Kanggúin, and Mumbégn had lived harmoniously together. Together they had exterminated another group of "different men," and far from wanting to shed each other's blood, they had saved each other from destruction. One of Kanggúin's sons had married a daughter of Mumbégn, and their daughter in turn had married a son of Vomblé, so that the ties of companionship were strengthened by the bonds

GENEALOGY I



of marriage. But the marriage of Mumbégn's widow to Koví (the "different man") was destined to split this compact group, for true to the character of "different men," which Kaingáng history has repeated time out of mind, Koví slew Nduichá, a hunting companion of his new wife's people.

No Indian knows how Koví came to kill Nduichá, but many think they know. They say that because Nduichá lay with one of Koví's wives and ridiculed him, Koví slew him with an axe as Nduichá bent over to cut him a piece of meat from a tapir that he had killed. But if the Kaingáng killed one another for adultery they would all have been dead long ago, for their life is the very essence of adultery. The children of Vomblé and their hunting companions have intrigued with each other's wives and husbands for two hundred years with never a murder among them. It is true that the Kaingáng often told me that murders occurred because one man lay with the wife of another, but whenever I was able to trace them back I always found that each was just one in a long series of vendetta murders whose origins are forgotten. And here exact genealogical records help us to bridge the gap between two episodes of the same history where Kaingáng memory begins to falter, for years before this murder Vomblé, Kanggúin and Kuvén, the hunting companions of Nduichá, had joined in the midnight slaughter of Koví's brothers-in-law, and their deaths were still unavenged. Thus the murder of Nduichá, although perhaps provoked by his relationship with Koví's wife, would never have occurred had not Nduichá and Koví been destined to be enemies because of a pre-existing feud.

But having killed Nduichá, Koví had started himself and his group on a path of blood from which they could never turn. With the bitter logic that has characterized Kaingáng murderers as far as the living can re-

* Dotted line indicates step-sibling relationship.

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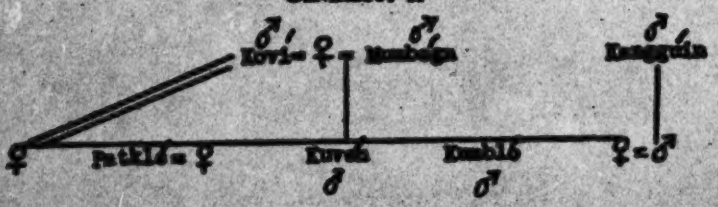
member, they reasoned that unless they killed all of Nduichá's group his relatives and hunting companions would kill them. With a single murder the murderer enters a locked system. He must kill and kill again, he must plan whole massacres lest a single survivor remain to avenge his kin. Kaingáng murderers are like the characters of a Greek tragedy in the grip of a natural law whose processes once started can never be stayed. So when Kovĺ killed Nduichá he at once plotted the murder of all of Nduichá's relatives and hunting companions. But although he and his accomplice succeeded in killing and wounding several, among them Kumbló's own brother-in-law, they themselves soon became the hunted. All of the adult males of Nduichá's group, an entire well-knit family, banded together and tracked them through the forest day after day until they scattered in panic, throwing away their possessions to lighten their flight.

Perhaps the most tragic figure in this drama was Kumbló, for he was related by marriage and association to both camps. To make things worse a half-brother, Wanyekí, had been the hunting companion of the murdered men, and Kumbló never dared to face him again. But he could never rest with the murderers with whom he had thrown in his lot, for how did he know that they did not suspect him?

These seeds of disruption bore their inevitable fruit, and Kovĺ himself was slain by Kumbló's brother Kuvén. They say that Kumbló, Kuvén, and their hunting companion "found out" that Kovĺ wanted to kill them; but in an atmosphere of distrust and terror, where people do not sleep at night and an almost paranoid fear oppresses the mind, it is not necessary to "find out" anything. When fear swells beyond control, and they can stand it no longer, the Kaingáng strike and they often "find out" afterward. With characteristic cunning they plotted the death of Kovĺ, for centuries of feud have made the Kaingáng masters of deadly shrewdness. Kumbló took Kovĺ's bow from him, saying, "Kuvén asked me to get your bow, for his is broken." So the foolish Kovĺ handed over his bow, leaving himself incapable of fighting at a distance. At night they slept near Kovĺ and early in the morning they attacked, killing him, their stepfather, and wounding Patklé, their own brother-in-law.[4] Quaintly contradictory to my informant's

GENEALOGY II



[4] See Genealogy II.

628 "they found out" is his remark, "He [Koví] killed Nduichá and they had not avenged him; so they killed Koví"! They wanted to avenge Nduichá, and "they found out" that Koví wanted to kill them. Thus where murder is planned, murder is suspected, and whoever wants to kill his neighbor fears that his neighbor wants to kill him too. When Yakwá says to me, "My cousin wants to kill me," I know that he wants to kill his cousin, who slaughtered his pigs for rooting up his corn; and when he says, "Eduardo [the Agent] is angry with me," I realize that he is angry with the Agent for not having given him a shirt. Yakwá's state of mind is a pale reflection of the Kaingáng habit of projecting their own hate and fear into the minds of those whom they themselves hate and fear. Yet one cannot always be sure that it is just a projection, for in these feuds currents of danger may radiate from any number of points of conflict, and there is often good and sufficient cause for any fear. If Kumbló and Koví feared each other there were grounds for it in Kumbló's association with the dead and wounded men.

With Koví dead, Patklé was in a position analogous to Kumbló's: he had married Kumbló's sister, and one of his own sisters had married Koví. Besides this, Patklé himself had been wounded. When he met Koví's murderers again he was in a quandary, for although they had killed his brother-in-law they were also his brothers-in-law. But if Patklé was confused, Koví's brother Wainló saw his duty clearly; and he said to Patklé: "Call Kuvén and live with him. I am going away. A long time from now I shall return and kill him."

Now Kuvén had intrigued with Patklé's wife, but Patklé had never tried to put a stop to it. Better to have him intriguing with his wife than wandering around in the forest unwatched. So when Kuvén went away one day Patklé sent his wife after him, saying: "Follow your *mbddn* and then come back to me. He wants to kill me, and probably that is why he is going away." So she went after Kuvén and brought him back.

628 562 This is the darker picture of woman's role in Kaingáng culture, for if she is the nucleus of compact cells of economic security she is also bait for the murderer's trap. The role of the women in the feuds is generally passive. They follow their men wherever they go unless they are captured, and even then they sometimes manage to escape; only rarely do they use their better judgment to prevent murder, or intervene to save their mother's lover. Actively and aggressively sexual though they are and holding, by virtue of this, really a key position in Kaingáng life, they seem nevertheless to have been generally content not to take anything like a vital part in the determination of action. Perhaps these women feared lest were they to intervene to halt a murder, their husbands should turn against them, knowing all too well that the men they sought to protect were their partners in adultery.

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So Patklé's wife brought Kuvén back, and one day as he wandered about in the forest he was killed by Wainló, who had secretly returned and was lying in wait for him. With the murder of his brother, Kumbló became even more frightened and enraged. He blamed his own sister for luring Kuvén and him to their death. But Wainló too was miserable, for he was utterly alone. He stole back to live with Patklé but never dared sleep at the same fire with him for fear that Kumbló would come and kill him. He would sleep in some hidden place and his wife would come to him in secret at night. At last in desperation he went away, leaving his wife and children with Patklé and saying, "If Kumbló does not kill you but comes to live with you, let him bring them [the children] up." This brings to a close the first episode in the story of the killing of Nduichá. His murderers fled, but they came to distrust one another, with the inevitable result at last of more murders and disruption. Throughout the years the companions of Nduichá were content to let his murderers escape, but at last they hunted them down and killed four women and captured two, one of whom they had wounded. They also captured six boys, three of them sons of Kumbló.

Since Kaingáng economy is built primarily on the occupations of men, a large cooperating male population is a necessary condition of its survival. If the male population is scattered and reduced by feuds, the economic support is destroyed, and if the women are killed the loss of men cannot be compensated. Had the Brazilians known how efficiently the Kaingáng were destroying themselves, they might never have bothered to hire bands of murderers but could have depended on the Kaingáng to do away with themselves. The Brazilians killed many women and children, the death rate that they inflicted on women being about twice that of the men; but since the intratribal Kaingáng feuds also reduced the men, the women were dying off only about 25 percent faster. The population was scattered in two different ways by internal conflict: first through the escape of murderers and second through the sudden flight of whole families terrified by murders. But it was not only internal conflict that scattered the Kaingáng but also aggression from without, for their usual way of protecting themselves was to scatter in all directions when there was danger of attack. They ran away from their ancient enemies the Kangdjá, from the Brazilians, and from each other. Whenever they attacked the Brazilians and feared pursuit they scattered. When the Kangdjá hunted them they scattered, and they themselves say that the reason that they now live so widely separated is "because Kovi killed Nduichá." The Kaingáng have no idea of coming together and forming a solid unit against an outside aggressor. For them there was safety only in wakefulness and flight. Whoever pursues them constantly has them at his mercy, for they become panic-stricken and never turn to face their pursuers until they are brought to bay like hunted animals.

The killing of the women and children by Nduichá's avengers brought

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an inevitable retaliation in the slaughter of men, women, and children by Kumbló's family. They stole upon a camp late at night, intending to kill the sleepers with clubs, but suddenly they remembered that the captured children were among them and that in the darkness they might be killed. So they waited until someone rose and stepped out of a house. When his cries aroused the camp the attacking party pursued each individual, killing them, men, women and children, like cornered rats. Those who escaped wandered about, sick and half starved, until they at last met with other members of their family. Since Kumbló's half-brother Wanyekí[5] had by this time become firmly bound to the children of Vomblé and Kanggúin, it did not seem strange to them that they should ask him to go in pursuit of his brother and kill him. Because of some trifling quarrel, however, Wanyekí never undertook the massacre, and before long he died. When his sons grew to manhood their relationship with their father's brother's family had become so obscured that they regarded them as "different people." Kumbló and his children were, to them, simply the murderers of members of their family, and they nursed a desire to kill them all until at last they pursued and slaughtered them. Kumbló and a few of his group escaped, but soon afterward the Brazilians killed Kumbló and the rest of his family, so that their extermination was complete.

Before this happened Patklé's entire line was annihilated, and the story of this massacre, which took place about 1885, is full of refinements of treachery and dissimulation. As the years passed the grandsons of Vomblé, Kanggúin and Mumbégn grew to manhood. There had been a series of intermarriages between the children of Patklé and the grandchildren of his ancient enemy Vomblé, who was now long dead. But Patklé never trusted his in-laws and was forever wandering away and returning. At last Kanyahé,[6] a son of Vomblé, who still remembered the murder of Nduichá, the wounding of his own father, and the whole series of murders and counter murders that had followed them, resolved to kill Patklé and his line. The fact that two of Patklé's daughters were his wives did not deter him. The killing was to be done in traditional Kaingáng style: they were to be invited to a festa, made to drink, and then slaughtered. Although the Kaingáng associate festas with quarreling and murder they never refused an invitation to one even though they knew their lives were in danger. One might imagine that at a festa where large sections of the tribe come together to enjoy themselves the bonds of kinship would be renewed and strengthened and old attachments of man for man would draw new warmth from the general good feeling.

Although this was true of some Kaingáng festas they were as often the

[5] See Genealogy I.

[6] Died of old age shortly before the Kaingáng came to the reservation.

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scene of violent quarreling and disruption as they were of friendliness and solidarity. The men and women got drunk, and the men boasted to their children of their invulnerability and their deeds of blood. The men "told their *waikayá*," walking about, shaking their clubs or lances, slashing at the air, crying out the deeds they had done and the murders they would yet commit. As the beer and excitement mounted to their heads they turned on their neighbors and quarreled with them because they suspected them of adultery with their wives or because they themselves had had affairs with their neighbors' wives and themselves felt suspected and hated. Courage, daring, suspicion and ferocity were screwed to the sticking-point, and even among friends the atmosphere might become so charged with conflict that half the men would engage in brawls. Kaingáng folklore abounds in tales of festa massacres, and the expression, "Let us make beer for him," has such a sinister connotation that it needs no explanation.

Kanyahé decided to "make beer for Patklé" and his family and sent one of his nephews to invite them. Kanyahé and his group were afraid of Patklé, for his history gave them no reason to trust him. The statement of one of Patklé's daughters made after the death of her father and brothers, that her father wanted to kill Kanyahé's group, showed that Kanyahé had good grounds for fear. With the background of mutual distrust of the characters in this drama, we are in a position to understand their hypocritical behavior.

Kuthúgn [Thunder Storm] came to invite the group of Patklé, and when Yuplú, Patklé's son, saw him, he said, "Who is it?"

K. "It is I!"

Y. "Have you still the name I once knew you by?"

K. "Yes."

Y. "Is it really, then, the truth?"

K. "Yes, it is I."

Then Yuplú caressed Kuthúgn—the very token by which the Kaingáng understand security.

Y. "I have been thinking about you. Whenever someone died I thought of you. Did you think about seeing me, too?"

K. "Yes. I do just that. I have remembered you. I had almost forgotten you, and now, at last, I see you."

Then Yuplú called his wife and told her to give meat to Kuthúgn, a second token of security.

Y. "Kuthúgn, eat this and then talk with me."

When Kuthúgn had eaten, proving by his acceptance of the food that there was no evil in his mind, Yuplú spoke to him again. "Kuthúgn, where is your dog?" Kuthúgn had had a dog that was a fine tapir hunter, and he and Yuplú had hunted together with it.

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K. "My dog died recently. It got sick and died."

Y. "What a pity! That big dog that used to be so good for tapirs! That big dog that I used to hunt with; that big dog that I have been thinking about, is dead!"

This "friendly" conversation continued with first one and then another of Patklé's sons joining in to tell how much they wished to see various members of Kanyahé's family. For days they hunted and talked together until Kuthúgn returned and another messenger went out from Kanyahé's camp to continue the friendly overtures. At last part of Patklé's family arrived at the festa. But since only some came, the rest remaining away in fear, they were permitted to dance and drink until nightfall, and nothing happened; for their hosts wanted to wait until they had them all in the trap. In some way Yuplú had found out that the women were saying that he intended to kill Kanyahé's group, and in the evening, when he was resting after his day of dancing, he addressed the enemy group, saying: "My *plų* [the women of his enemies] are lying, and when you hear their lie you will kill me. I saw you and came to look for you, but when the women lie you will kill me." Yet he slept where he was and left the following day, but before he went Kuthúgn said, "I am going to make beer and invite you again."

At last the entire group of Patklé arrived and joined in the festa. Each of the people of Kanyahé placed himself next to an individual of the other band, and as they drank they watched one another in mutual suspicion. Waimbégn[7] said to Kiyitá[8]: "Do not look at me while you sing. I am going to sing with you. Do not look at my eyes!" Kiyitá became enraged and said: "I go around with men, and when I hold a festa with them I do not look at them. It seems to me that you were going to talk to me and that you called my name, but you said that I see your eyes!" At last when Patklé and his sons were drunk the group of Kanyahé turned on them as they danced and drank and killed Patklé and four of his sons and wounded a fifth. When the wounded man recovered and ran away with another who had been spared, most of the women and all of the children escaped with them. They were not heard of again until they were localized on a reservation in Palmas in 1915. Not long after this those who massacred Patklé and his sons completed their task of avenging the murders of Nduichá and his companion by slaughtering the children of Kumbló.

The history of this feud may be summed up in the following way:

First. Peaceful living together of the sons of Mumbégn, the sons of Vemblé, and the sons of Kanggúin.

Second. Murder of Nduichá by Kovĩ, "a different man," wounding of

[7] Patklé's son.
[8] Kanyahé's group.

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Vomblé, killing of his wife, wounding of Kanggúin and killing of his son, followed by the flight of some of the sons of Mumbégn together with their relatives by marriage and their hunting companions.

Third. Suspicion, followed by murder, breaks out among the murderers of Nduichá *et al.*

Fourth. Final disruption of the forces of the murderers (i.e. separation of Kumbló and Patklé).

Fifth. Slaughter of the women of Kumbló's group by Nduichá's group.

Sixth. Slaughter of men, women, and children of Nduichá's group by Kumbló's group.

Seventh. Massacre of Patklé and his sons by their relatives by marriage.

Eighth. Massacre of Kumbló and his sons by the children of Kumbló's half-brother Wanyeki.

It is easy to see from this summary what the history of the Kaingáng vendettas has been: murder, followed by flight of the killers; then conflict within the ranks of the murderers themselves, with ensuing murder and splitting of the group. The murderers are hunted down by the relatives and companions of the dead men and women until not one is left. No society can stand such conflict, and the history of the Kaingáng shows clearly that they have been diminishing in numbers. Even they themselves are perfectly aware of the fact that their population has dwindled and that they have been split up into smaller and smaller groups because of the feuds.

Many societies must have gone to pieces and disappeared under the influence of disruptive forces within. In the course of the development of social forms those that fostered severe conflicts must ultimately have destroyed the societies in which they developed. The result would obviously be the gradual weeding out of such societies, and we would have left only such as could maintain themselves by satisfactorily reconciling the disintegrating forces within them. But from time to time in some societies situations develop that are incapable of adjustment, and that of the Kaingáng is one of these. In its otiose social theories and a curious system of body paints Kaingáng society shows traces of what may once have been a more complex social system. Their history goes back to a time when they lived in villages and cultivated the soil, but even then there were feuds. It is impossible to tell at present whether the development of the feuds brought about the destruction of a more complex social life or whether the contradictory social theories that we hear of today were ever more than notions picked up from contact with other cultures and never fully understood. But even in those very early times the Kaingáng were busily killing their affinal relatives and raiding the villages of "other" groups of their "own people."

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Analysis

628 The most striking single feature of Kaingáng disintegration is the contrast between the warm, highly affective relationships within the "families" and the uninhibited ferocity of the behavior of the members toward all outsiders. Within their own circle of relatives and companions the Kaingáng will endure a high degree of personal discomfort to avoid a quarrel, but toward "other" groups of their "own people" their overwhelming desire is to shed blood. The result of the nervous insistence on the preservation of internal peace is that serious quarrels scarcely arise, and when they do they are swiftly forgotten or their effects muted. In quarrels over adultery within the extended family the entire brunt of the squabble is usually shifted on to the shoulders of the defaulting spouse, with the result that amity among the men—the very cornerstone of Kaingáng society—is preserved. But adultery by "other men" was fuel to the smoldering flames of long-cherished hate and always precipitated murder. The sexual aggressiveness of man against man never finds full expression within the family, spending itself, at the most, in secret intrigues and surreptitious "home-breaking." But with "other men" it broke out into the frank "taking away" of their women—the deliberate asking for wives who were never refused.

The taking away of wives was a kind of dangerous play indulged in by groups of "other men" when they met. The deadly consequences of such open preempting of sexual rights were known, but they never acted as deterrents. The taking away of women created an atmosphere of fearfulness that formed a perfect medium for the development of states of mind leading to murder. When the children of Wanenggló met with the children of Yokégn the children of Wanenggló took away their wives; but when they had "led them away," the children of Wanenggló feared that their victims wished to kill them to regain their wives and to wipe out the shame of the experience. The children of Yokégn really were secretly enraged and eager to kill their wives' new husbands. The two families dwelt in fear of each other, and it soon became a question only of who would be clever enough to strike the first blow. It turned out that Yokégn was the slyest and in a single night he destroyed Wanenggló and all his children. But nothing like this ever happens within the extended family, where peaceful relations have been the rule for generations.

181 628 Another aspect of this same insistence on preserving peace within the family at any cost is the reluctance to look for trouble. The Kaingáng are utterly unwilling to face a situation pregnant with conflict unless it is thrust under their noses. That is why husbands do not follow their wives around but are content to leave them in camp alone for weeks while they go hunting, and that is why when things are stolen no one prowls around

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768 in which the emphasis on obligations to relatives by marriage is followed
881 through. Formerly if the dead man left any little children who had not yet had their lips pierced or their thighs pricked, a close relative, usually a brother, gathered the dead man's possessions together, prepared beer for the child's "blackening," and distributed the goods to the in-laws of the dead man. Perhaps the surviving relative also had children to blacken, and so on such an occasion his own property would also be distributed to his own in-laws.

556 Once property had been stolen from the Brazilians it flowed by gradual stages from the hands of the warrior into those of his relatives, and on his death it was either distributed to his in-laws or inherited by his wife and children. Societies like those of the Plains Indians of North America had made the distribution of property a device for the attainment of prestige, but when a Kaingáng gave away his booty he was doing simply what was expected of him as a relative. In many societies power tends to concentrate where property accumulates, but although the Kaingáng respect power they cannot tolerate any kind of intensification of it; for such intensification is felt by them to be disruptive. Through their insistence on the primary importance of the other person and their failure to reward achievement, the Kaingáng have suppressed processes that encourage the concentration of power in the hands of outstanding individuals.

The Meaning of the Feuds

628 One of the sources of aggression was the accumulation of resentments growing out of adultery and rejections by "deserting" relatives. Feuds and raids on the Brazilians provided substitute outlets for these resentments, and at the same time, by projecting the aggressions outside, operated to protect each extended family from internal disruption. A factor powerful in the perpetuation of the feuds is the Kaingáng feeling that once a force has been started it can never be stayed. Paralleling this on the human side is the belief that once a person has committed murder he will keep on.[14] With such a view of the natural world all that is necessary is that murder be committed once in order that there shall be perpetual distrust of the murderer. Given this attitude, the distinction in emotional ties within and between the extended families, and the peculiar social outlook of the Kaingáng, it is easy to see why things should have taken the turn they did: since murderousness is the attribute not only of individuals but also of groups, the groups suspect—and slay—one another forever.

[14] A parallel to this is not hard to find in our own society, for we believe that "a leopard cannot change its spots," and "once a criminal always a criminal." One of the fundamental bases of the theory of capital punishment is that a murderer must be got out of the way because he is likely to commit another murder under similar circumstances.

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Social Forms and the Solution of Conflict

Students of social forms tend to interpret behavior in terms of the social mechanisms operative in a given culture, and when conflicts persist they explain such persistence as due to the absence of adequate social forms with which to handle them. Thus, in discussing societies in which feuds occur, they point out that vendettas are frequently stayed through some device such as the *ler talionis* or marriage between the warring groups and that where feuds continue it is because the society lacks a mechanism with which to stop them.

In discussing the solution of conflicts, however, we must understand what we mean by a solution and what personal factors are involved. A social mechanism is a device for handling a situation, and where the way of handling the situation accords with the kind of personality involved there is a perfect integration between the social form and the individual emotions. Often, however, this integration is not achieved. Let us consider a case in our own society. Before it was made illegal, a suit for breach of promise to marry was a device available to women seeking restitution for unfulfilled proposals. If a woman was successful in her suit one of the things for which the law compensated her was the "mental anguish" she endured. But such compensation was, at best, a solution for only certain types of personality. For many women the seeking of material compensation was repugnant and so irrelevant to their emotional needs that the idea never occurred to them. Thus, suits for breach of promise were adequate to the needs of only a certain type of personality, i.e. of the type whose status and whose emotions were measurable in terms of currency. The breach of promise suit would be a perfect mechanism only in cultures where the principal things involved in marital relations were the economic correlates of woman's status and where joy in the monetary gain from such a suit was so great that it allayed all mental anguish. In such a case of integration between personality and social mechanism there is a perfect structural and emotional balance between wrong suffered and compensation awarded. There is no residue of economic loss or personal suffering: it has all been washed out in a wave of economic satisfactions.[10]

Pepó, one of the personalities in a Kaingáng feud, was satisfied to live in peace after having killed the man who murdered his brother. A tit-for-tat solution of this kind is called the *ler talionis*. In other words, Pepó's nature

[10] But the man is in quite a different position, for the woman's gain is his loss, and depending upon the culture he will cherish resentment or accept his lot without complaint. But in the case of the woman it is not certain that she will be satisfied. She may still hate the one who has wronged her and cherish the hope of getting even in some more direct way. If the culture condones resentful individuals who harbor grudges until future years, however, then the basic conflict must be resolved in some non-formal way.

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628 was completely satisfied by the death of one man. If nothing more had come of the murder of Pepó's brother we could say that in this situation the conflict was solved through the operation of the *lex talionis*. But something else did happen, because Wainló, the foster son of Pepó's brother, could never forget the murder of his foster father. For years he nourished his hate until with the help of allies he exterminated the entire male line—sons, affinal relatives, and hunting companions—of the original murderer. Thus the *lex talionis* could not function because it was repugnant to the obsessive personality of Wainló. The *lex talionis* was no *lex* in Kaingáng society, not because the idea had never occurred to the Kaingáng, but because the people as a whole were incapable of accepting it. There are a number of instances of this kind in Kaingáng history. In the section of folklore I have given a long historical tale[34] in which it can be seen clearly how one man, Yokégn, tries twice to stay the forces of annihilation simply by refusing to take action, but in vain—his enemies literally force him to kill them. There are ample data even at the present time to show that such socially wholesome attitudes have appeared a number of times, but to no avail. As in our own society, individuals with insight are overcome and swept into the whirlpool by the obsessive behavior of others.

In Kaingáng society the men who have shown this special insight have never been the weaklings. They have, on the contrary, been among the most *waikayú;* they have been the *waikayú ydnggí*, the very brave, the very vicious, the very dangerous. They were Thunder Storm, Pepó, and Yokégn. With the exception of Pepó they were physically powerful men, and they fought like tigers.[35] Pepó, who had been spared because he was thought incapable of harm, slew his brother's murderer single-handed and then walked into the enemy camp and cowed them all, so that Wanenggló, his chief enemy, lay awake night after night, slinking off in the day to sleep in hiding. Day after day he sent his wife to Pepó to beg him to spare him, until at last the exasperated Pepó exclaimed: "I've forgotten all about that. I killed the one who killed him [my brother]. Let him [Wanenggló] forget about me and sleep whenever he wants to."

Men like Thunder Storm, Pepó, and Yokégn were not "deviants."[36] On the contrary the Kaingáng looked on them as highly representative of their ideals. Indeed, Yokégn himself, although he twice tried unsuccessfully to avoid killing, deliberately plotted a holocaust[37] with the obsessive Wainló some time later. Thunder Storm too, although he was not inclined to

[34] Chapter IX, p. 134.

[35] *Waikayú* men are frequently compared to tigers.

[36] The term "deviant" has been used in anthropology to describe the type of personality that is completely unable to adjust to the standard emphases of a particular culture.

[37] When he overheard a plot to kill him.

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slaughter "different men," bathed his own lance in blood when social pressure forced him to it, and he loved to raid the Brazilians. No, we are not dealing with deviants here but with typical individuals who had developed the particular Kaingáng obsession with slaughter to a lesser degree, or whose fear of "other men" was not very great. These three were definitely of one type: they were as specifically peaceful with reference to "different men," as Kanyahé, Kundáin, and Nenggachá were dangerous. 628

[p.112 is blank]

476 The hunter who kills an animal is not forced to share it, nor
226 do the others demand this from him.

Yet it is a natural thing among them, and they cannot conceive of any course of action other than to share the proceeds of the hunt, no matter how small, with everyone else.

727 [127] This same "instinctive" rule also applied to the distribution of plunder following their raids on civilized communities.

228 They have no judges to solve their disagreements, but attempt
[278] to reach a decision first through words and then through a duel.

If a man happens to be killed in the course of such a fight, his close relatives nearly always try to avenge him. Such "vendettas" have often led to the subdivision of the tribe into mutually hostile groups, frequently numerous, which exterminated each other in mass slaughters. This is the main reason for the decimation of this tribe, which used to be quite large and which numbered great quantities of warriors.

531 The Botocudo manifest their artistic taste in the carefully woven spear ornaments which surround the junction of the blade and shaft; in the manufacture of their arrows; and in the embellishment of the small waterproof baskets used within the huts. They also express it in their multicolored linear drawings and the fringes of their aprons, as well as in the ornamentation carved or burned in, which adorn many of their implements.

534 Their gourd rattles are heavily decorated. The handle is
531 covered with a cross-lacing made with the black fibers of imbó-mirim bark; the base of the gourd is surrounded with multicolored hair and feathers; the gourd itself is covered with carved designs; and the tip of the handle is ornamented in the same fashion as its base.

Like all primitive peoples, the Botocudo are familiar with the rudiments of those sciences directly related to their daily needs.

806 They recognize three yearly seasons: summer (ámbang), the time of great heat; winter (hotschóma), the time of cold weather; and autumn (kdnóõ-to-kutáma), the time when trees shed their leaves.

The lunar month is called kutschá and calculated from one full moon to another. Their recognition of seasons provides them with the concept of a yearly cycle; they are also guided by the flowering of certain trees and the ripening of certain fruits.